families that hold cattle on the three reservations has been estimated at between 400 and 500. Metzler summarizes the economy of stock raising as follows (Metzler, 1959, p. 57):

> "The function of cattle for most families is the same as that of a reserve account in a bank. The cattle are not sold until other sources of income have been exhausted, then enough cattle are marketed to meet cash needs of the family until other sources of income again become available. When they have no more cattle they will start to sell off their horses."

It should be added that cattle raising is more than merely an economic enterprise. The Papago and their cattle may be compared to the Navajo and their sheep. In both cases a way of life has been developed which becomes relatively meaningless without livestock and the work of caring for animals on the open range in isolated desert areas.

The meaning of stock raising in the total economy of Papago family life can be assessed with fair accuracy because of the records that must be kept in connection with the tribal assessment of a 3 per cent tax on the value of all livestock sold from the reservation. In 1962 the tribe collected a total of $19,631.90 in taxes on a gross Indian income of $654,397 from stock sales. For a number of years sales have totalled about this amount, occasionally running higher. Owning from one to ten head of stock, most families have incomes of less than $400 per year from ranching. Probably no more than 40 families, according to Metzler, depend entirely on cattle sales for their yearly income. In keeping

461 464 454 261 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is reflected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the family through some of the months between harvest seasons. The quantity laid in is usually not large, probably enough for only a month or two.

432 439 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase most of their clothing while they are at work and earning money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps 7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 891 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the cotton fields from a need for money, however. There are some determined parents who are thoroughly convinced both of the necessity for educating their children and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by moving to labor camps so their children may attend public schools where they have to learn to ecmpete with Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of [181] competition is generally absent from reservation schools despite the best efforts of teachers because students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations rather than competitiveness.

166 886 [462] Some older people go to labor camps because there is no one left on the reservation to care for them when the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I moved over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] Of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] Of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.

273 452 439 One isolated rural store, at least, sold Papagos wine on credit in 1950—an ultimate easing of the usual difficulty Indians find in buying intoxicants!

273 [434] [454] [511] [526] Many individual Papagos picking cotton probably save no cash surplus from their season's labor because they spend all their extra money for liquor. They work long enough to get drunk, then lay off until they are both broke and sober again. This type of individual gives the whole Papago labor force a very evil reputation. But neither disapproval or employers nor social disapprobation within the Papago tribe seem to be strong enough to curb drinking.

000 [293] Probably repeal of federal law prohibiting liquor to Indians would remove some of the attraction liquor holds for the Papagos. It would surely cut down on the number of staggering drunks—the usual state of Papago drunks—in allowing the Desert People to sit down in a bar like other civilized human beings and drink slowly and socially instead of paying an inflated bootlegger's price for inferior liquor to be gulped down immediately in a dark alley before a policeman confiscates it. Some policemen make a semi-racket of letting known bootleggers operate, and waiting until Papagos are thoroughly drunk before arresting them—a practice resulting in considerable police department revenue, and some extra cash for the officers, if some observant growers are to be believed. But the Desert People do not drink merely because they aren't supposed to. The basic reasons lie deeper in their psychology, and are undoubtedly tied into emotional insecurities bred from economic uncertainty and the stresses arising from getting along with only half-understood Anglos.

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